Final Summary Report

CAPTURING HUMAN TRAFFICKING VICTIMIZATION THROUGH CRIME REPORTING

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Executive Summary

Human trafficking is a complex global phenomenon that has only recently come to the attention of law enforcement, policy makers and social service providers in the United States. While there have been significant advances in the identification and investigation of human trafficking, provision of assistance to victims and the utilization of various legal remedies, there are still substantial challenges in addressing the crime of human trafficking. One major issue in the field is the lack of accurate data around the number of victims of human trafficking. Data that truly represents the number of victims and their needs is the foundation in which law enforcement, service providers, and others are able to allocate resources in a manner that is appropriate to address the crime and its victims.

In 2008, the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act authorized the Federal Bureau of Investigation to begin collecting offense and arrest data about human trafficking as part of the Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program. In 2013, the UCR program began collecting information in the Summary Reporting System and the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) to capture two Part I offenses: Human Trafficking/Commercial Sex Acts and Human Trafficking/Involuntary Servitude (FBI, 2015). The addition of human trafficking offense categories in the UCR program is a significant step towards improving our understanding of the scope of the issue. However, there are many reasons to be concerned that human trafficking offenses known to the police and reported through the UCR underreport the extent to which human trafficking is occurring in local communities.

This study explores how local law enforcement agencies classify human trafficking cases that they identify through their internal records management and external crime reporting programs in three US communities. The research team examined over 600 human trafficking investigations and interviewed law enforcement and crime reporting personnel in each study site to understand how human trafficking cases are identified and reported by the police. Interviews with victim service providers and non-law enforcement agencies in each study community about how they identify and report human trafficking victimizations also helped the research team understand the sources of information about human trafficking incidents that exist outside of law enforcement data. Finally, utilizing Multiple System Estimation (MSE) procedures that compare information about identified human trafficking victims that exist in the data systems of multiple providers in the study communities, the research team identified how frequently human trafficking victims are identified across multiple administrative data systems in a community. MSE procedures were employed to develop an estimate of the number of sex and labor trafficking victims in each study community as a mechanism to gauge the degree to which law enforcement data on human trafficking offenses represents the population of human trafficking victims in a community. The following major findings emerged from the research project.

- Accurate data collection relies on the identification of human trafficking victims. In the sites studied, law enforcement personnel struggled to identifying human trafficking cases. Based on interviews with law enforcement, one of the key challenges in identification is the challenge of disentangling human trafficking victimization from other offenses such as prostitution. Identification of human trafficking victimization in some cases did not arise until much later in the criminal justice process.
- The identification of labor trafficking victims was particularly difficult, and in some cases non-existent for both law enforcement and service providers.

- Even when human trafficking cases are identified and investigated by law enforcement they are often not classified on incident reports as human trafficking offenses. Human trafficking incidents are still mainly recorded as different offense types within internal records management systems, sometimes because offense codes for human trafficking do not exist in records management systems or on incident reports. Outside of specialized investigators, officers have less knowledge of the existence of or proper use of human trafficking offense codes.
- Even specialized investigators expressed hesitation about using the human trafficking offense code, holding human trafficking offenses to a high standard, in some cases requiring the arrests of a perpetrator who will be charged by the District Attorney with a human trafficking crime before the officers were comfortable classifying offenses as human trafficking.
- For those few incidents that get classified as human trafficking offenses, some do not end up being reported to state crime reporting programs due to the failure or delay of state crime reporting programs to create classifications or reporting structures for human trafficking offenses.
- In addition to the identification struggles faced by law enforcement, service providers and non-law enforcement organizations in the sites studied faced challenges identifying and classifying human trafficking victims. Even though most service providers have the structure to integrate identification protocols in the needs assessments they are already conducting, many providers do not have standardized assessment protocols for human trafficking victim identification. The majority do not assess for labor trafficking at all.
- For service providers that did identify human trafficking victims, record keeping related to victimization and other relevant information proved difficult for providers due to data systems that did not support human trafficking as a victimization. To compensate for the inadequate data systems, some would enter human trafficking under another type of victimization or unofficially keep track in a makeshift spreadsheet, making it difficult to report on the number of trafficking victims they serve.
- Law enforcement data captures only a fraction of the estimated human trafficking victimization in local communities. Findings from the MSE in the Northeastern and Western study sites indicate for the Northeastern site study, a total of 290 individuals were captured, and the resulting estimates typically range from 650 to 1000. This would imply that 29% to 45% of the estimated minor sex trafficking victimization population is captured by law enforcement or other community service providers studied. For the Western site study, a total of 345 individuals were captured, and the resulting estimates typically range from 2000 to 2400. This would imply that 14% to 18% of the total estimated human trafficking victimization population is captured by law enforcement or other community service providers studied.
- Given the issues around identification and reporting of human trafficking, it is likely that that the UCR program undercounts both the human trafficking victims that are identified by local law enforcement due to offense reporting problems and undercounts human trafficking victims that exist in local communities but remain unidentified.

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Introduction

Despite dramatic increases in public attention and improved responses from governmental and non-governmental organizations to human trafficking, it has proven difficult to reliably measure the magnitude of the problem. Local, national and global estimates have commonly utilized non-systematic and incomplete data and have suffered from numerous operational, definitional and methodological limitations (Zhang 2012; Cruyff et al., 2017). Improving the quality of information about human trafficking is essential to evaluate the effectiveness of anti-trafficking responses.

Sex trafficking and labor trafficking were defined in the US as federal crimes in 2000 (TVPA 2000) and these offenses have been criminalized in all 50 states. The introduction of human trafficking offenses in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program was intended to help overcome the significant challenges to understanding the prevalence of human trafficking and provide policymakers with an official tool to understand the scope, nature and distribution of the crime. In 2008, the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act authorized the FBI to begin collecting offense and arrest data about human trafficking as part of the UCR. In 2013, the UCR program began collecting information in the Summary Reporting System and the National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) to capture two Part I offenses: Human Trafficking/Commercial Sex Acts and Human Trafficking/Involuntary Servitude (FBI, 2015).

Although the addition of human trafficking offense categories in UCR is a significant step towards improving our understanding of the problem, there are many reasons to be concerned that human trafficking offenses known to the police and reported through the UCR will greatly underreport the extent of human trafficking occurring within local communities. First, research on police identification of human trafficking confirms that law enforcement agencies have limited knowledge about the crime of human trafficking (Farrell, McDevitt and Fahy, 2011; Newton, Mulcahy, and Martin 2008; Wilson, Walsh, and Klueber 2006), face significant challenges identifying human trafficking and distinguishing it from other crimes (Farrell, Owens and McDevitt, 2014; Farrell, Pfeffer and Bright, 2015; Owens et al., 2014) and lack procedures necessary to ensure effective investigations (Farrell, Owens and McDevitt, 2014; Farrell and Pfeffer, 2014; Gallagher and Holmes 2008). Even when law enforcement agencies have identified victims and investigated crimes of human trafficking, there is good reason to believe that human trafficking cases would not be accurately represented in official data sources.

Changes to the UCR program are rare and any newly defined offense (e.g. arson) or definitional change (e.g. rape) will take time and resources for local agencies to integrate the changes into well-engrained UCR program policies and procedures. To successfully comply with the new reporting requirements, law enforcement agencies must train officers to identify and report human trafficking crimes, modify information systems and data entry processes to capture new human trafficking offenses and change processes of reporting information into state reporting programs to ensure human trafficking offense data is accurately reported in the UCR. Further, the crime of human trafficking presents many unique challenges to the summary and incident-based crime reporting methods in the UCR program. For example, human trafficking victims are mobile and human trafficking generally consists of serial incidents which co-occur with numerous other offenses. Because many incidents currently known to law enforcement agencies come to their attention through victim service providers, they are often not processed through routine crime reporting procedures. For these reasons it is not only important to

understand how agencies identify human trafficking cases, but to further examine the ways in which cases are processed and reported within the UCR program.

To date there is no known research on the validity of UCR data for human trafficking. We aim to advance our understanding of how well reported human trafficking crimes represent the true prevalence of human trafficking problems in a community. We have therefore examined the implementation and comprehensiveness of human trafficking crime reporting programs in three police agencies that are known to have investigated human trafficking cases and represent different crime reporting structures following the three key questions outlined in Table 1.

Table 1: Key Study Questions

1. How are human trafficking cases identified and reported by the police?
    - How are human trafficking cases identified by the police?
    - Once human trafficking cases are identified, how are these cases reported within internal law enforcement information systems?
    - Once human trafficking cases are identified, how are these cases reported to external crime reporting programs such as the state reporting systems or the UCR program?
2. What sources of information about human trafficking incidents exist outside of law enforcement data?
    - How could the sharing of information from these data sources improve case identification and increase our understanding of the prevalence of human trafficking within a jurisdiction?
    - What are the barriers to sharing information across administrative systems?
3. What is the estimated disparity between actual instances of human trafficking identified in the study communities and the number of human trafficking offenses reported to the UCR?
    - How frequently are human trafficking victims identified across multiple administrative data systems in a community?
    - What are the reasons for the disparity between reported UCR offenses and the actual prevalence of identified and unidentified human trafficking in a community?

Methodology

The study was conducted in three local jurisdictions within the United States. A targeted selection methodology was used to identify jurisdictions where the research team could independently verify that the law enforcement agency has investigated a sufficient number of human trafficking cases to support the research.[1] The researchers organized all agencies that had investigated human trafficking cases since 2013 into three categories: 1) jurisdictions that had reported human trafficking offenses into the UCR summary reporting program, 2) jurisdictions that had reported human trafficking offenses into the NIBRS reporting program, 3) jurisdictions that were known to have investigated human trafficking cases but that had not reported any human trafficking offenses in either UCR Program in 2013, 2014 or 2015.

Preliminary screening telephone interviews were conducted with key law enforcement agencies in eleven potential study sites to gather basic information about the number and type of human trafficking offenses or cases identified by each agency between 2013-2015 (the first three years following the integration of human trafficking offenses into the UCR data collection program). Screening interviews helped the research team assess the likelihood that agencies

[1] Data from the National Human Trafficking Hotline and data from a recently completed study on the effectiveness of state anti-trafficking laws at increasing the identification, arrest and conviction of human trafficking suspects (Bouche, Farrell and Wittmer, 2015) were used to identify the number of publicly reported human trafficking tips and/or arrests in each U.S. city.

would be able to make the required data available to the research team and identify key personnel for onsite data collection. Based on data from the screening interview process three study jurisdictions were selected. Table 2 below provides basic information about the characteristic of the three study sites. Specific study site locations are confidential and throughout the report they will be indicated by their region (e.g. Northeast, West, South).

Table 2: Study Site Background

	Site 1	Site 2	Site 3
Region	Northeast	West	South
Approximate population size	600,000	2.3 million	650,000
Race Hispanic Origin Foreign Born	53% White 24% Black 9% Asian 8% Other 4% Multi-racial 19% Hispanic 27% Foreign born	25% White 23% Black 7% Asian 4% Other 1% Multi-racial 44% Hispanic 29% Foreign born	62% White 28% Black 4% Asian 5% Other 3% Multi-racial 10% Hispanic 13% Foreign born
Violent crime rate	708 per 100,000	1,026 per 100,000	1,116 per 100,000
Property crime rate	2,152 per 100,000	4,369 per 100,000	3,743 per 100,000
UCR reporting structure	Summary	Summary	NIBRS
Year state initiated UCR reporting of human trafficking	None	2014	2014

(source: US Census Bureau, American Fact Finder, 2017; Federal Bureau of Investigation, Crime in America 2016).

Three main data collection and analysis procedures were utilized in each of the three study sites. These included key stakeholder interviews, human trafficking incident review and coding, and non-human trafficking incident review and coding. In the Northeastern and Western sites, the research team also conducted multiple system list estimation utilizing lists of human trafficking victims across numerous records including law enforcement and victim service providers. Each methodology is described in more detail below.

Interviews: The research team interviewed the key officials within the primary municipal law enforcement agency in each study site including investigators, analysts, information system officers and command staff with knowledge of human trafficking investigation and reporting processes. In each site, we also interviewed either state or federal officers who work closely with the investigative team in the primary study agency. Interviews were also conducted with key individuals who are knowledgeable about human trafficking data in each local agency/organization (both governmental and non-governmental) that we could identify in the three study sites that has some official response to sex or labor trafficking in the local community. In the Northeastern study site, we conducted interviews with 6 law enforcement officials (5 municipal, 1 state) and interviews with 8 local service and non-law enforcement

stakeholders. In the Western study site, we conducted interviews with 7 law enforcement officials (5 municipal and 2 federal) and interviews with 15 local service and non-law enforcement stakeholders. In the Southern study site, we conducted interviews with 9 law enforcement officials (2 municipal and 7 state) and interviews with 20 local service and non-law enforcement stakeholders.

The purpose of the interviews was to document the types of information that different actors look for when conducting investigations and/or assessments of potential instances of human trafficking. The interviews gathered information about 1) how each agency/organization defines human trafficking, 2) how and to whom information on human trafficking is reported, and 3) what are potential barriers or difficulties in reporting such information. Interviews with law enforcement helped us understand how offenses are reported in different types of identification and investigation scenarios and establish if there is a threshold of evidence that is used to determine if a suspected trafficking situation gets recorded as human trafficking in information systems or in reporting to the UCR program. Interviews with non-law enforcement stakeholders in the study communities informed our understanding of how human trafficking data is captured in the administrative and case records in these agencies and identify the pathways through which human trafficking cases are (or are not) referred to law enforcement. All recruitment materials, consent forms and interview schedules were approved by institutional human subjects review boards prior to formal outreach to interviewees.

The majority of interviews were conducted in person[2] and provided essential details to advance our understanding of the identification and reporting of human trafficking cases both within and outside of law enforcement. Interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes to 1 and a half hours. The majority of interviews were tape recorded with the permission of the interview participant and in the few situations where interviewees did not consent to audio recording detailed notes were taken. The interviews were semi-structured, so respondents could provide open-ended responses which accounted for the variation in length. All of the interviews (and interview notes) were transcribed and interview text uploaded into QSR-NVivo 14.4, a qualitative data analysis software package for coding and preliminary analysis. Codes represented themes derived from the key actor interviews, reviews of existing literature and representing various components of our research questions.

Identification of human trafficking investigations: In each study site we requested access to the law enforcement records of every human trafficking case (defined here as an incident with an incident report or open investigative record that was investigated by a specialized human trafficking unit or involved designation of human trafficking within the incident narrative) investigated between January 1, 2013 and December 31, 2016. For each incident report that included an offense code for human trafficking we coded the details of the incident report and investigative records to identify how the offense came to the attention of the police, whether the incident report was original or a supplement, basic information about the nature of the offense (e.g. offense code, type of human trafficking, offense description, how the offense came to the attention of the police), and detailed information about all identified human trafficking victims, including name, date of birth and whether or not the person was arrested. In addition to coding every case that was identified in the study sites' crime reporting system as having a human trafficking offense code, we reviewed and coded the incidents of all cases identified by

[2] A small number of interviews were conducted after the site visit due to scheduling difficulties or stakeholder unavailability when the team was on site.

investigators or specialized units as involving human trafficking offenses (regardless of whether the incident report indicated the offense as human trafficking). A unique identifier was assigned to each identified victim or suspect to protect the confidentiality of information extracted from police records. An identity key was developed to track identification and reporting across various systems, but all records with detailed case information or detailed information about perpetrators or victims was made anonymous.[3] Once human trafficking cases were identified and coded, researchers tracked the internal reporting of each case within the study departments' information systems to determine the final offense codes assigned to cases involving human trafficking offenses. Through this process we identified the characteristics of human trafficking investigations that are both successfully reported as human trafficking offenses in agency crime reporting systems and those that are not accurately classified. Potential explanations include offense misclassification, reporting of alternative offenses based on hierarchy rules in summary reporting, use of unnecessarily high thresholds to determine "confirmed" trafficking, and data entry errors or data loss. In the Northeastern site we identified and coded 420 cases. In the Western site we identified and coded 193 cases. In the Southern site we identified and coded 258 cases. Unfortunately, the incidents provided for the South were primarily prostitution offenses and information available on the incident reports in this site was insufficient for classification as a potential human trafficking case.[4]

Non-trafficking Case Review: To further illuminate the degree to which human trafficking cases are under-identified or misidentified by law enforcement, in each study site we reviewed a subset of case records for other types of crimes that may include indications of human trafficking. For each study agency we randomly selected 50 incidents that were not investigated as human trafficking for the non-trafficking review. The randomly selected incident reports came from incidents coded as prostitution, pimping, sex offense other, kidnapping and false imprisonment. We developed a standardized set of potential indicators of human trafficking (see Appendix A) that were coded for every non-human trafficking incident we reviewed.

Multiple list comparison and estimation: Multiple systems estimation (MSE) methods have been utilized by researchers attempting to measure the prevalence of human rights violations (Lum et al., 2010) and deaths in conflict (Ball et al., 2003; Manrique-Vallier, Price and Gohdes, 2013). Recently MSE methods were utilized by researchers from the Home Office to estimate the prevalence of human trafficking victimization in the UK (Bales, Hesketh and Silverman, 2015), as well as by other researchers to estimate prevalence in the Netherlands (Cruyff et al., 2017). Based on mark-recapture methods originally intended to estimate wildlife populations (Peterson, 1896; Williams, Nichols and Conroy, 2002) MSE methods are used to estimate the size and distribution of an unknown population based on observed individuals' capture histories over the lists. We tested the use of MSE in each study site to determine whether the data available in local communities can support such analyses.

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[3] Victim and suspects names and dates of birth will be recorded separately from information about the offense. Coded case records will include an identity key (described in more detail in Component 6) for victims and suspects in place of identifying information such as names.

[4] In the Southern site the research team was not granted access to the incident reports for the state bureau of investigation based on requirements in state law that prevent the sharing of intelligence information. The research team was able to access incident reports for all cases investigated by the municipal police department in a single year (2016). The incidents analyzed for the study include all the available incidents from vice unit investigations from 2016. Of the total 478 incidents that were originally requested, 220 were denied because the case was ongoing or for other reasons.

During the human trafficking case review (described above) we coded information about human trafficking victims identified in every incident investigated by law enforcement in the three study sites as human trafficking. We subsequently requested information about every human trafficking victim recorded as such in the administrative or case record data for all the non-law enforcement agencies/organizations in each study site where we conducted interviews. These sites included *other governmental agencies* such as state child and family services and inspectional services and *non-governmental agencies* such as victim services, shelters and health care facilities. Considering the extremely sensitive nature of this data, data from all law enforcement and non-law enforcement agencies in the study communities was made anonymous and transmitted to the study team securely to ensure no loss of confidentiality. To accomplish this process, we created a standardized identity key using name to link principles across diverse databases which results in creating a standardized name "meta-attribute" (Pierce et al., 2012). After confidential identity keys were constructed for all victims of human trafficking identified in law enforcement records, the other governmental agencies and non-governmental agencies in the study communities were given the formula to create identity keys within their own data. Identity key data from non-law enforcement agencies was transmitted to the study's investigators from two of the three study communities. Each list of identity keys in the two participating study communities was first stratified into categories to reduce problems arising from the unequal probability of "capture" across agencies providing data. Then the data was cross-tabulated across strata to identify the combination of lists in which each individual appeared. This process first allowed us to identify if human trafficking victims or perpetrators who are identified by the police are identified in other data systems. This step was critical for determining areas where double counting may exist if databases were separately used for estimation of the prevalence of human trafficking. This analysis also allowed us to determine the probability that individuals who are identified by the police are also identified by other governmental and non-governmental agencies in the community.

The MSE procedures relied on information about human trafficking victims contained across multiple lists in each of the participating study communities. At this stage some human trafficking victims were counted on more than one list and others were not counted on any list. MSE relies on the analysis of capture histories and patterns, and how functions of covariate information (like gender, race, and age) relate to these patterns. Poisson log-linear models were fitted to the data to identify the number of cases occurring on any particular combination of lists utilizing the R programming language (R Core Team, 2016). The resulting analyses provide an overall estimate of the size of the total population of human trafficking victims along with a measure of the error and confidence intervals. The MSE modeling approach is innovative and provides critical information to the field about whether such models can be useful given existing administrative data in local communities.

Findings

National and state-level reporting of human trafficking offenses

In 2008 Congress directed the Federal Bureau of Investigation to add human trafficking offenses and arrests to the UCR program under the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2008. Starting in January 2013, the Uniform Crime Reporting program began collecting data on human trafficking offenses known to law enforcement and human trafficking arrests. The UCR Program created two new offenses to capture human trafficking crimes in both the Part I Summary Reporting System (SRS) and the Group A

National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS). These include Human *Trafficking/Commercial Sex Acts* which the UCR Program defined as "inducing a person by force, fraud or coercion to participate in commercial sex acts, or in which the person induced to perform such acts(s) has not attained 18 years of age" and *Human Trafficking/Involuntary Servitude* defined as "obtaining of a person(s) through recruitment, harboring, transportation, or provision and subjecting such persons by force, fraud or coercion into involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage or slavery (not to include commercial sex acts)." (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2015). Prior to the adoption of the new human trafficking offenses through the UCR Program, law enforcement agencies throughout the United States did not have a mechanism to classify investigation of sex trafficking (commercial sex acts) or labor trafficking (involuntary servitude) within local or state crime reporting mechanisms. Additionally, prior to the adoption of the human trafficking offenses within the UCR Program, there were no standardized systems to collect information on the number of human trafficking offenses that were known to law enforcement in the US.

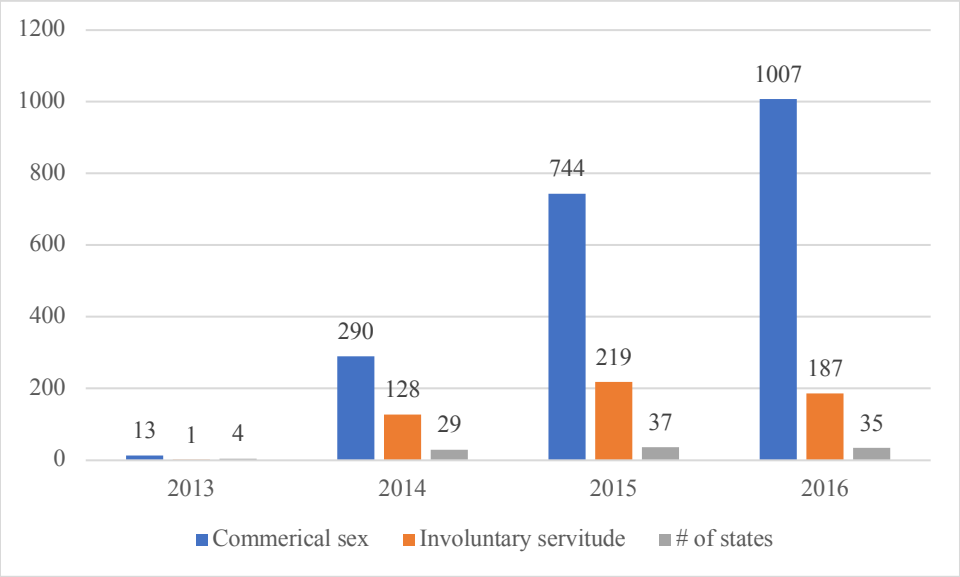
In 2013 the FBI released a bulletin outlining the new UCR offense codes and providing definitions for law enforcement in the reporting of these crimes. There are a number of provisions of the UCR Program definition that distinguish human trafficking crimes from other routinely reported offenses. First, human trafficking does not follow the hierarchy rule, that is human trafficking offenses should be reported in addition to other UCR offenses being reported for the same incident. Additionally, the UCR Program has directed state reporting programs to count each human trafficking victim in an incident as a separate offense. Additionally, human trafficking offenses must be collected separately from previously existing offenses such as prostitution. This change requires law enforcement to distinguish situations where a person is engaged in commercial sex as a perpetrator (e.g. selling sex) from those situations where the person is engaged in commercial sex as a victim (e.g. induced by force, fraud or coercion into selling sex, or induced into selling sex as a minor).

The UCR Program was aware of the challenges that local crime reporting programs would face in implementing the additional human trafficking crimes. As they noted in the release of the 2013 human trafficking data:

> The addition of offense or arrest data to the UCR Program is a rarity. The last time the UCR Program added an offense to the list of Part I crimes was in 1982 when the collection of arson data was made permanent. However, given the dynamic nature of criminal justice issues, the UCR Program is being called on to make modifications to reflect the changing realities of law enforcement that were not present when the Program was established in the early part of the 20th century. These changes are not without some impact to law enforcement agencies, and it often takes time for agencies to identify resources that make submission of the new data collections to the national UCR Program possible. As is the case in any new data collection, the first year of data is often sparse. However, the UCR Program anticipates that more data will be reported each year as participation in the new human trafficking data collection grows. (FBI, 2013, pg. 1).

As predicted by the UCR Program, reporting of human trafficking offenses was sparse at the start of data collection in 2013 and has grown incrementally overtime. As illustrated in Figure 1, both the number of states reporting human trafficking offenses to the UCR Program and the overall number of human trafficking offenses known to law enforcement reported by participating agencies have increased each year.

Figure 1: National Human Trafficking Reporting to UCR



In 2013 when human trafficking offenses were added to the UCR Program only four states participated in the human trafficking reporting. By 2016, thirty-five states are participating, and the number of offenses reported has increased steeply. Despite increases in participation, as of 2016, large states with larger number of human trafficking offenses such as California and New York were not fully participating in human trafficking reporting (see table in Appendix B for annual state reporting data).

How are human trafficking cases identified within study agencies?

The first step in accurate crime reporting is successful identification of the crime in question. We found variation across the three study sites in institutional readiness to identify and report human trafficking offenses. As outlined in Table 3 the three sites varied in the types of training provided to officers within the agency to help identity human trafficking and the types of specialized investigated responses where suspected cases could be directed.

Table 3: Institutional Readiness to Identify and Report Human Trafficking Offenses

	Northeast	West	South
Identification			
State or internal training on human trafficking identification and response	Specialized investigators; academy training (basic)	Specialized investigators; academy and in-service training (early stages)	Specialized investigators and in-service training (early stages)
Specialized human trafficking investigative unit	Yes	Yes	Within Vice Unit
Human trafficking response	Referral to specialized unit; investigation by specialized unit	Referral to specialized unit; investigation by specialized unit	Vice referral to state investigative agent; investigation by Vice Unit detectives in collaboration with state investigative agent
Reporting			
Indication of human trafficking on incident report	Special condition box	None	None
Offense codes for sex and or labor trafficking	Added in 2016	Added in 2014	Added in 2013
State or local training on offense reporting for human trafficking	No	Partial	Yes
Year human Trafficking offenses reported to state crime unit	None	2014, 2015, 2016 (fewer than 10 offenses per year, both sex and labor)	2013, 2014, 2015, 2016 (fewer than 10 offenses per year, sex only)

Interviews confirmed the importance and challenges of institutional readiness to identify human trafficking cases. Three main challenges to identification were reported across the three study sites: 1) lack of training among law enforcement who may be in a position to identify human trafficking cases, 2) nature of human trafficking crimes complicates identification, and 3) human trafficking victim identification pushed to later stages of the criminal justice system.

Lack of training: All three study sites had more extensive training for specialized officers and basic awareness training for some non-specialized officers through the academy or in-service training. In the Southern site the state investigative bureau has coordinated law enforcement training on human trafficking throughout the state. In each region of the state an investigative

bureau agent trains local agency officers, works to coordinate investigations across local agencies and in the cases of smaller agencies will be the lead investigator on human trafficking cases that are identified. The state investigators depend on local law enforcement to identify sex and labor trafficking incidents in their communities. Despite the existence of statewide training, local buy-in was still tenuous.

> Agent: I don't go out with them [local law enforcement] on their [vice] stings but we do stay in contact with each other and talk about the things that are going on in the area
> Interviewer: Are they trained so that they are screening for trafficking amongst folks that may be involved in prostitution?
> Agent: They have been through the training (laughs), yes, they've been through the training. How they are operating, I am not sure. (Agent 1, State LE, South)

In the Western site, specialized investigators expressed concern that sex trafficking cases were not being appropriately referred by other units within the agency due to lack of training outside of the specialized unit. "See that's the part that's missing, the human trafficking part. They get reported as a victim of sexual assault. They get reported as a victim of child abuse, but those will not come to the Vice unit. We don't handle those." (Detective, Local law enforcement, West). Similarly, if service providers refer cases to the wrong unit within the law enforcement agency and there is not an effective system to route those cases to the human trafficking unit incidents may be misclassified in the incident reporting and the offenses may not ever be investigated as human trafficking.

Training was vital because patrol officers are likely to encounter human trafficking victims in a variety of routine calls. "We know that these victims, they get bumped in to the system all the time just like domestic violence victims do, just like rape victims do they bump into the system, wherever they bump into the system we have to begin to recognize what they are we have to understand the signs and signals." (Agent 4, State LE, South). Officers suggested that without training it was easy to miss signs of human trafficking and misclassify human trafficking offenses. Specialized detectives in the Northeastern site lamented when signs of human trafficking are missed by patrol officers or non-specialized detectives, impeding victim identification and response.

> I might be doing an investigation in [neighborhood] and I'll come up with a girl's name, say Ramona. So, Ramona got locked up. I'll do an investigation, I'll get information that Ramona's being sex trafficked. And then I'll go through all the reports that I find that are associated with Ramona. And I find out that she was locked up on a warrant. I'll see an investigate persons issue, she was in a car with a john and they [patrol officers] cut them both loose, that sort of thing." (Detective, Local law enforcement, Northeast)

Complex nature of human trafficking crimes: Because human trafficking cases require evidence of force, fraud or coercion it is critical the victims are able to provide information about the commercial sex or labor operations that can be corroborated by law enforcement. This often requires victims to provide detailed information about the exploiter and their activities. The quotes below illustrate the challenges law enforcement face when identifying human trafficking offenses among potential incidents.

> My frustration is, is that we have a lot of referrals, we have a lot of "well, I think so and so's being trafficked," or "hey, we arrested a prostitute and she told us so and so's my pimp", but then when you go to find her, you go to interview her, you'll do to continue your investigation, she's gone. Or she's back with that pimp. Or she's back with that trafficker. That makes it very, very challenging. (Agent 2, State LE, South).

> Sometimes there are girls who are like "I don't feel comfortable telling you that" and that's okay, and you're like "okay that's fine you know, we'll work with you" and then there are sometimes girls but I think they are under the influence of drugs and so they are you know very paranoid in saying well, and be very demanding and manipulative and then we kind of work through that as well…but it's still what is it based of, like what you said, it's based off mostly what they're telling us, if they have a pimp that's taking their money that is pretty obvious right, but are they getting beaten up, do they call their boyfriend but she's not saying that he's her pimp, so we are working through all of that. It's just been "trafficked" or "in the life" (Detective, Local law enforcement, West)

Even with proper training, human trafficking victims are hard to locate and identify. As one state investigator in the Southern site noted, even though officers had received some training in human trafficking identification it took time and experience to more accurately identify these cases, "there is a difference between doing basic investigations and doing this. There is a specialty to it, in that how you interview, how you interact with these victims and things like that that just does come from doing it" (Agent 2, State LE, South).

Detectives noted that identification of victims was particularly difficult in the case of familial trafficking, for victims in the LGBTQ+ community, and within massage parlors. For example, in Site 2, detectives lamented that massage parlors where they know commercial sex is occurring and they suspect human trafficking may also occur get shut down and then re-open with new managers and workers, they move around from building to building and they are hard to develop long term intelligence to bring a human trafficking case. As a detective in the Western site explained "To criminally charge an operator or owner they have to have probable cause that say that they knew this illegal activity was ensuing and that they had some means of facilitating that to be able to meet the grounds of promotional prostitution or compelling prostitution. That's the difficulties with charging the operators or the owners." The vice unit had numerous investigations of massage parlors but few of them were confirmed as human trafficking. All three study sites noted the fact that labor trafficking cases were not identified.

Shifting identification to later stages of the criminal justice system: Compounding the complexities of identifying human trafficking victimization, some victims are classified as perpetrators until someone else in the criminal justice system determines they are victims. For example, in the Northeastern site detectives struggled with how to classify victims who were engaged in recruiting women into sex trafficking or other aspects of the promotion of the commercial enterprise. "There are some girls that are...suspects and they're suspects because they're recruiting other girls but even though they're a suspect and they are you know technically from the police world they are suspects and should be treated as such but they're also victims even though they're doing criminal acts…so it's again you know do you count them? do you count them as pimps? Or do you count them as victims?" (Detective, Local law enforcement, Northeast). The Western site detectives similarly faced challenges classifying victims engaged

in aspects of the commercial sex enterprise. “We don't want to revictimize somebody who is a true victim. But, at the same time, there are certain situations where we don't know for sure.” (Detective, Local Law enforcement, West).

In the Southern site it was common for the police to arrest individuals suspected of being human trafficking victims for prostitution offenses and send them to a specialized court to figure out if the individual was a victim. As a result, the Southern study site made hundreds of prostitution related offense arrests annually and only a handful of human trafficking offenses/arrests. A detective in the Southern study site explained “You can't just go in there and she's going to say ‘yes, I'm being forced to do it’. Most of the time they are not going to say that. They're going to swear up and down that they are by themselves, that they're not with anybody. You just have to talk to them a little bit more, and hopefully they open up, and if not, then she'll still get arrested but once she's arrested she'll have the chance to go to the prostitution court. It will give them the opportunity to kind of help themselves or get out of the situation you know between that time we arrest them and that time they feel like maybe they really do need help and they have the opportunity there." (Detective, Local LE, South). Another detective in the Southern site explained “We can ask all the questions but if we don't get any cooperation, we can't just make up a trafficking charge on somebody, I mean we have to have a suspect to be able to put charges on or interview or something like that, and if you don't get any cooperation, it’s almost impossible to turn her into a trafficking victim. We'll arrest her if we think she's being harbored or kidnapped or forced to do it. Sometimes the arrest is the best thing for her because it gets her out of the situation whether she wants to or not” (Detective, Local LE, South). In these situations, human trafficking was never identified and if the specialized court identified victimization at a later date the incident report would still reflect a prostitution offense.

How are human trafficking incidents classified and reported within study agencies?

There is significant variation between the three study sites in how human trafficking offenses have been captured in the crime reporting programs of each law enforcement agency. Information about the institutional readiness to report human trafficking offenses for each study site is illustrated in Table 4 (see previous section). In the Northeastern site the municipal law enforcement agency added an offense code to their records management system in 2016 and prior to that point all incident reports where human trafficking was suspected were indicated by a checkbox (e.g. a special condition of the incident). In the Western site human trafficking offense codes have existed within their records management system since 2014 and have been modified to bring them into compliance with the state reporting requirements. In the Southern site the state law enforcement agency with responsibility for state crime reporting modified the records management system used by most municipal agencies in 2013 to include the human trafficking offenses specified by the UCR Program. The Municipal law enforcement agency in the Southern site has received training regarding the identification and classification of human trafficking offenses from the state crime reporting program. Despite the existence of the offense code and state-level training, the municipal agency studied in the Southern site rarely utilized the human trafficking offense code.

To help us understand how institutional structure impacted human trafficking crime reporting, in each study site we reviewed and coded all incident reports that were investigated as human trafficking between 2013-2016. Incidents were included in the study when they met any of the following criteria: 1) were investigated by investigators in specialized human trafficking units or referred to those investigators within the study agency responsible for human trafficking

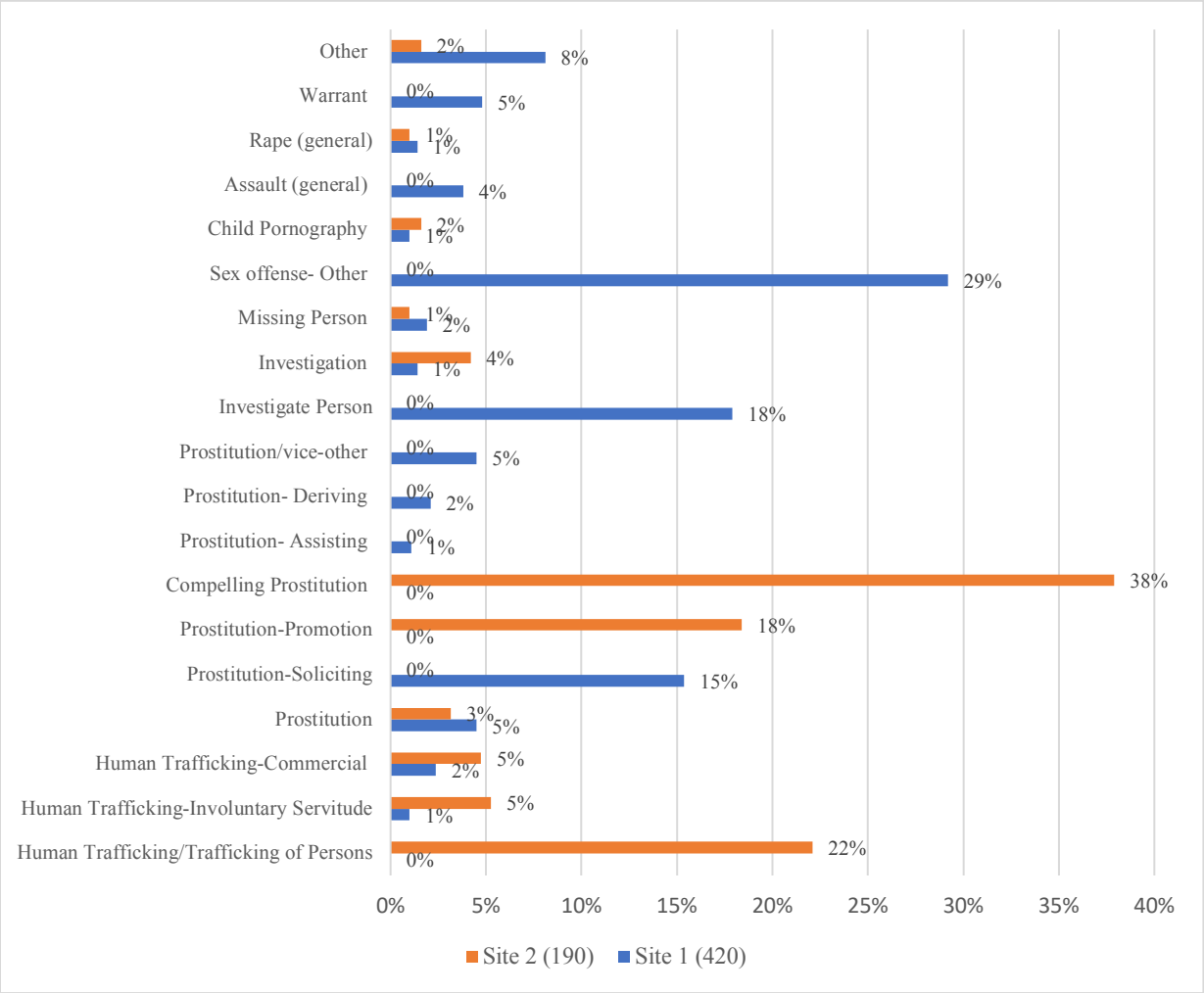
investigations, 2) including an offense code of human trafficking/commercial sex or human trafficking/involuntary servitude, 3) had any indication on the incident report that the offense included human trafficking (e.g. special condition box, referral to specialized human trafficking unit) or 4) included terms "human trafficking", "sex trafficking", "labor trafficking" or "commercial sexual exploitation of children" in the incident report narrative. As expected, not all incident reports reviewed by the research team include an offense code of human trafficking. Figure 2 provides an overview for how incident reports for offenses being investigated as human trafficking are classified in incident reports for the Northeastern and Western sites.[5]

Key findings from the human trafficking incident review:

- In the Northeastern site, a majority of the 420 incidents investigated for human trafficking were coded on the incident report as some other offense, commonly a prostitution offense code (n=23%), investigate persons (n=18%), and sex offense-other (n= 29%). The use of other offense codes is not surprising because offense codes for human trafficking/commercial sex and human trafficking/involuntary servitude were not added to the records management system and incident reports in the Northeastern site until early 2016. Between 2013 and 2016, incident reports in the Northeastern site did include a "key situations" check box for human trafficking. A majority of the incidents reviewed in the Northeastern site (366 incidents, 87% of all reviewed incidents) had the key situation of human trafficking checked on the incident report.
- In the Western site, 22% of the incidents investigated as human trafficking were classified with a catch-all offense code for human trafficking or trafficking in persons and fewer included the offense codes specified by the UCR Program human trafficking/commercial sex (5%) or human trafficking/involuntary servitude (5%). Despite the relatively early integration of a human trafficking offense on the incident report and in the records management system of the Western site in 2014, 59% of incidents investigated as human trafficking during the 2013-2016 study period still included prostitution as the primary offense code.
- In both the Northeastern and Western study sites the number of incidents investigated as human trafficking that included a human trafficking offense code increased over time.
- In the Southern site three human trafficking/commercial sex offenses were reported into the state crime reporting system. However, in all the incident reports reviewed by the research team for the Southern site, incidents were classified as prostitution or prostitution related offenses. The incident reports did not include enough information to delineate human trafficking investigations. As a result, data for the Southern site are excluded from the human trafficking investigation incident review.

[5] All incident reports reviewed for the Southern site were coded as prostitution or prostitution-related offenses and it was not possible in the Southern site to confirm that the offenses were investigated for indicators of human trafficking though they were investigated by the unit responsible for human trafficking investigations.

Figure 2: Primary Offense Code Utilized for Human Trafficking Investigations (n=610)



Interviews with detectives and supervisors in each study site helped clarify why cases with clear indicators of human trafficking or many of those incidents investigated by specially trained human trafficking investigators continue to be classified as other types of crimes. Three main challenges were identified: 1) lack of an offense code for human trafficking, 2) lack of training around use of the human trafficking offense code, 3) hesitation to classify offenses as human trafficking.

Lack of offense code in internal records management systems: In the Northeastern study site there were no human trafficking offense codes in the records management system until 2016. Once the human trafficking offense codes were added to the system there was no training for either specialized or non-specialized officers about the new code or how it should be used. Only detectives within the specialized human trafficking unit knew that human trafficking offense codes had been added to the records management system. Detectives in the Northeastern site wanted to be able to "verify" that a crime was human trafficking before they applied the offense code. Similarly, in the Western site, only specialized officers were trained to classify incidents in their records management system as human trafficking once it was determined that an offender would be arrested for a human trafficking related charge. Despite the speed in which the state

crime reporting unit integrated human trafficking offenses into their crime reporting program, it took some time for the Southern site internal records management system to be changed to facilitate reporting of human trafficking offenses. An official with the state crime reporting program explained that some agencies in the state did not immediately get the new offense code integrated into their records management systems "we did not have the human trafficking classification as quickly. You could add language in the narrative and you could use the code for prostitution. Previously we would have classified cases as prostitution on the offense code. The old system required officers to put that in narrative but lots of agencies were not yet trained to identify and not having an offense code made it more difficult" (Crime Reporting Personnel, State LE, South).

Lack of training around use of human trafficking offense codes: In the Northeastern site there was no training of either specialized officers or other officers within the agency on the use of the new offense codes for human trafficking. In addition, all sites acknowledged that during the criminal justice process, there is an opportunity for incidents to be changed and correctly classified as trafficking but offered no clear protocol for re-categorizing cases as human trafficking. In the Western site officers mistakenly utilized the human trafficking/trafficking in persons offense code in incidents that involved human smuggling. Failure of the agency to train officers about the distinctions between human trafficking and smuggling resulted in the inappropriate designation of 16 incidents as human trafficking when they were in fact smuggling. The Southern site had training that was provided by the state bureau of investigation. The state coordinated the roll-out of the new offense code, including training for crime reporting units and specialized investigators in municipal and county law enforcement agencies throughout the state about the definition of human trafficking and use of human trafficking offense codes. Specialized officers in the study site and around the state had gone through the training about the new offense code which included information on identification and investigation of human trafficking cases. Despite the existence of human trafficking offense codes and training for specialized officers about the use of the code, officers in the local agency studied remained reluctant to classify offenses as human trafficking.

Hesitation to utilize the human trafficking offense code: Officers in all three study sites expressed caution about the use of the human trafficking offense codes. In the Northeast detectives argued that they wanted to ensure they would be able to effectuate an arrest because human trafficking cases were Part I crimes and supervisors cared about how many of these crimes resulted in (were cleared by) arrest. Crime reporting personnel at the state bureau of investigation in the Southern site thought that local police would be cautious about classifying an incident as human trafficking because of the required victim information. "Honestly, I think agencies are terrified with reporting anything that has to do with a juvenile. The type of crime being a factor with some agencies. Being a group A offense with required victim information plays a part in some of the hesitation of reporting cases with juvenile. In some cases, agencies hesitate to report because it involves a juvenile as offender or victim. (Crime Reporting Personnel, State LE, South).

We also found deference of law enforcement to prosecutors about what offense should be listed on the incident report. "What they a lot of times what they feel most comfortable with. I usually try to go with what they want to charge, obviously that's what they're going to be the ones standing up, fighting the battle. So, whatever they think best applies is what we try to go with. And for the promoting prostitution a lot of our johns that come to have sex with the

females we will charge them with promoting prostitution as opposed to trafficking. That's what the DAs in this area prefer to do… it just kinda falls back on them and what they feel most comfortable with prosecuting and what they feel like they will be able to stand up and argue" (Detective, Local LE, South).

The non-trafficking review conducted in each of the three study sites revealed a small number of randomly pulled incidents that included markers of sex or labor trafficking. Of the 150 (50 per study site) randomly pulled incidents that were reviewed by the study team, there were 9 incident reports (6%) that had any trafficking element present in the case. The Northeastern site had 5 cases with elements of trafficking, the Western site had 4 cases with elements of trafficking, and the Southern site had no cases with any trafficking element. Five of the cases with human trafficking markers were coded on incident reports as "prostitution" and four of the offenses were coded as "sex offense-other." The narratives in the Southern site lacked many of the details necessary to determine whether the incidents included elements of sex or labor trafficking.

How do agencies report human trafficking to state or federal crime reporting program?

Even when sex and labor trafficking offenses were captured in the record management systems of study site agencies, there was significant variation in how these offenses were reported to state crime reporting programs. In the Northeastern site no human trafficking offenses were reported to the state crime reporting program during the study period despite the fact that the agency's internal records management system captured 11 commercial sex offenses. Although the Northeastern site added human trafficking offenses to their records management system in 2016, the state crime reporting program did not begin tracking involuntary servitude and commercial sex human trafficking offenses until 2017. In the Western site, 61 human trafficking offenses were captured in agencies internal records, including both sex and labor trafficking offenses. Yet, significantly fewer offenses for commercial sex/human trafficking or involuntary servitude/human trafficking were reported from the study agency in the state or federal crime reporting programs. Interviews with specialized investigators suggest the data reported for the state crime reporting program pulls information from different data fields than is being utilized by the specialized human trafficking unit to track their own cases. In the Southern site the state crime reporting program managed by the state bureau of investigation added human trafficking offense codes to the state incident-based reporting system in 2013. They began reporting human trafficking offenses in the state crime data starting in 2014 and submitted data for these offenses to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 2014, 2015 and 2016. Despite reporting hundreds of prostitution and commercial sex related offenses to the state crime reporting program, the Southern site reported only 9 human trafficking offenses and no involuntary servitude offenses in the state crime reporting program during the study period (2013-2016). Interviews with investigators suggest a primary challenge is that offenses that could be classified as human trafficking are not marked as such on incident reports in the Southern site resulting in very few official reports of these crimes.

How do other non-law enforcement agencies/organizations identify and report human trafficking?

In addition to law enforcement, agencies in the community are in a prime position to identify victims of human trafficking. Across the three study sites, researchers interviewed

individuals from social service agencies, child welfare agencies, Child Advocacy Centers, legal and court services, and medical providers who have provided services to victims of human trafficking to learn how they identify victims, capture information, and share information with partners. Similar to the experiences of law enforcement, agencies who may be in the position of identifying and assisting victims struggle with definitional challenges, collecting information, and sharing information with partners and the public. We describe 1) how providers identify human trafficking, 2) the types of information they collect, 3) how information is shared between agencies, and 4) the ways they report information to the public.

Identification of human trafficking: There were a number of ways in which providers identified human trafficking victims. While many providers received referrals of pre-identified victims from partners, the other methods in which providers identified victims varied across programs and sites. Variation in human trafficking victimization methods is illustrated in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Data from Agencies in Study Community

	Types of agencies in the community who interface with human trafficking victims	**Active Assessment:** Agencies who formally assess for human trafficking	**Semi-Active Assessment:** Agencies who keep an eye out for "red flags" indicating trafficking, but do not conduct a formal assessment	**Passive Assessment:** Agencies who do not assess for human trafficking and rely on victim self-identification
Northeast	1 Legal Services 3 Victim Services 1 Medical Provider 1 Child Welfare/CAC	**2 agencies** receives pre-screened referrals and also conduct assessments for human trafficking	**1 agency** keeps an eye out for possible red flags, but doesn't formally assess **2 agencies** receives pre-screened referrals and keeps an eye out for red flags, but doesn't formally assess	**1 agency** did not clearly indicate assessment process
West	2 Legal Services 1 Court 4 Victim Services 1 Child Welfare/CAC 1 Education/Outreach	**1 agency** receives *all* pre-screened victims and they further assess **1 agency** receives pre-screened referrals and also conducts assessments **3 agencies** conduct assessments with everyone, and do *not* receive many pre-screened referrals	**1 agency** keeps an eye out for possible red flags, but doesn't formally assess **2 agencies** receive pre-screened referrals and keeps an eye out for red flags, but doesn't formally assess	**1 agency** doesn't serve victims, and when individuals self-identify, they refer to service providers
South	2 Legal Services 6 Victim Services 1 Child Welfare/CAC	**3 agencies** receive pre-screened referrals and also conducts assessments **2 agencies** conduct assessments with everyone, and do *not* receive many pre-screened referrals	**2 agencies** receive pre-screened referrals and keeps an eye out for red flags, but doesn't formally assess	**2 agencies** do receive some pre-screened referrals, but otherwise rely on victim self-identification

As to be expected, provider mandates and service types influenced the effort to identify human trafficking victimization. If it wasn't required in order to receive services, it wasn't always assessed. Legal service providers reported conducting a more in-depth standardized

assessment which is necessary to determine appropriate legal remedies for victims, compared to social service providers who were often just trying to establish whether someone qualifies for services and determine their basic needs. While one service provider talked about victims needing to identify as trafficking survivors in order to receive services, other providers did not have the same funding requirement and were able to provide services if the victim identified as a survivor of domestic violence or sexual assault,

> The only stipulation, although that doesn't sound right, is that the person has to be impacted by sexual violence, so when someone says they are raped or if it is a child and they were sexually abused that's just kind of only the check box that has to be met. (Service Provider, Victim Services, South)

Understandably, due to the effects of trauma and the stigma around human trafficking and prostitution, victims may not reveal their experience of trafficking right away. When not required to assess for human trafficking, some agencies were only learning about victims' experiences after working with them for a while around other victimizations. Some victims disclosed human trafficking through counseling or learning about trafficking, as many individuals seeking assistance for other issues don't realize they have been a victim of trafficking as well. After learning about trafficking, some are able to confirm that they have been trafficked. One provider shared that:

> For the few that say 'no, just prostitution', later on after having treatment and becoming aware and knowledgeable of what it is, can later turn to 'oh yeah, I did experience that and I did not even realize that's what I was involved in' (Service Provider, Victim Services, South)

One of the greatest challenges for identifying victims of human trafficking continues to be lack of understanding and knowledge about what constitutes trafficking. The cause of the confusion tends to stem from the use of multiple definitions across agencies and partners, and the conflation of human trafficking and prostitution. Some definitions are so generalized that it can include multiple forms of trafficking, while others are so limiting that it excludes many victims. Part of the issue of different partners utilizing human trafficking definitions in multiple ways can be explained by their own directives, such as legal services seeking immigration relief; however there can be disagreements in definition among partners such as between legal services and law enforcement. For example, one legal service provider explained that they "disagree with law enforcement, you know, kind of definition a lot of times" but they have to find a way to work with it to help clients get "certification" (Attorney, Legal Services, West). Social service providers also mentioned this issue as many may not have to adhere to a strict definition in order to provide services; however, this can make coordination with partners more difficult.

> That's still in progress, because we're trying to get on the same page with law enforcement, with DCS, and with the other agencies. I would say for us up to this point that has included stripping, pornography, anything like that. You know, we had a fairly broad base, but that's getting fine-tuned. (CEO, Victim Services, South)

The conflation of human trafficking and prostitution poses a major challenge for service providers in identifying and documenting trafficking, particularly since the client may be presenting with other victimizations as well.

> It would probably be useful [to systematically document] but we would probably find very set guidelines of what trafficking is, and how is that different from sexual assault, prostitution and you know somebody having a pimp, I mean do you consider everyone in those cases trafficking, because it kind of is, but you know what if they are adults, and there is that line that makes it very difficult. We would need very firm guidelines. (Coordinator, Victim Services, West)

At times the complexity of trying to tease out the difference between human trafficking and prostitution leads some providers to not assess for the victimization at all.

> …and then this is the argument, you know, between oh that's trafficking and then that's prostitution, and, and in reality, it is extremely intertwined and complicated and that's not that sort of division between it you know in, so that's why we try to avoid all of that. (Service Provider, Victim Services, Northeast)

The idea of what constitutes an "exchange" emerged as a theme across sites as they struggled to determine what was human trafficking and what experiences were not. The concept of an exchange became a determining factor but was still not the solution to simply identifying victims because the question as to what constitutes an exchange was also defined in multiple ways. For example, as in the case with the definition of human trafficking, some providers adhered to a strict interpretation of exchange, while others interpreted in a more generalized manner.

> ...there's no child that has been sexually abused that hasn't in some way been trafficked. And what I mean by that is this, there is always an exchange. Right? The sexual act in exchange for 'I don't kill your parents' up to and including 'I'm going to buy you a car.' So all of those things are based on a lack of consent, meaningful consent and they're all an exchange. (Judge, Legal Court, West)

Another challenge to identifying human trafficking victims was service providers resistance to labeling victims of human trafficking if the victims didn't identify as such; however, they simultaneously explained that no one self-identifies as a human trafficking victim.

> Well, the way we go about tracking we don't want to identify as something they don't identify with and so if someone doesn't come in [and identify as a victim], I don't know, I have ever met anyone who has walked in and said "I am a survivor of human trafficking". (Service Provider, Victim Services, South)

Labor trafficking poses additional challenges as many service providers do not assess or identify the victimization at all. As one provider shared that children services has a specific language and reporting requirements around sex trafficking, but "not for labor trafficking. It would come in as physical abuse or medical maltreatment for failure to treat a wound, nutritional

neglect for withholding food, educational neglect for children not being in school." (Supervisor, Victim Services, South)

Lastly, given that providers continue to struggle to define human trafficking, it is understandable that most providers lacked a clear, standard assessment process for identification. For those service providers who do assess for human trafficking, there was little consensus across agencies within sites as to the best way to conduct assessments. Some come right out and ask if they have been trafficked. Others either ask general questions or monitor for red flags that could indicate trafficking, "…it's basically like red flags that pop up that, that happen to emerge from the clinical encounter either from the nurse knowing, noticing something, to a social worker, to a resident" (Physician, Medical Services, Northeast). All of these factors impact, not only the data collected around human trafficking and its entry into subsequent databases, but the nature of support victims are receiving, such as in a situation where a young person could have left her trafficking experience earlier but wasn't correctly identified, "So that's kind of a horrifying case, but that was a case where because there was a lag in the referral and proper identification she didn't get referred to the correct folks" (Manager, Victim Services, Northeast).

Type of information collected for internal reporting by non-law enforcement agencies/ organizations: Across the three sites, there was no standard for the types of data to be collected in agencies related to human trafficking. Many sites had difficulty reporting the number of human trafficking victims they served. The data that was collected was varied and in multiple formats across the agencies. Some data systems were robust and collected a great deal of demographic information, services provided, and nuanced forms of victimization. Most of the organizations that collected and documented a great deal of information specific to trafficking exclusively served human trafficking victims. In Table 5 we outline the main data collection strategies/approaches for non-law enforcement agencies in each study site. We have classified the agencies and their approaches depending on whether they actively, semi-actively or passively collected information on clients who were identified as victims of sex trafficking or labor trafficking.

One agency in the Southern site had an active data collection system that tracked client information across multiple domains.

> We track not only just their history, their demographics, what kind of exploitation they had, so whether it's even if it's outside of, you know, they were ever held at gunpoint, we have all of that. So we can get all of that, their nationality, their age, and then we track just all the services that we provide, down to the amount of food we like purchase each, you know, how many nights they stay in the safe house, and the clothing, the different programs that we're offering, trying to get a collective kind of picture of what we do, who we're serving. (CEO, Victim Services, South)

Other data systems collected detailed information about clients but were structured in a piecemeal way and were not dynamic in nature, so adding options in drop down menus to identify a victim type as sex or labor trafficking was cumbersome and, in some cases, impossible. As a result, these providers enter human trafficking information in other places that would make it difficult to run a report on human trafficking numbers. Some providers may not capture trafficking at all. As a coordinator of victim services in the Western site noted, "We have the reporting categories….and human trafficking isn't in there….we usually put them [human trafficking victims] under a sexual assault."

One of the key challenges related to the varied and non-standardized data collection stems from the issues identified above around the lack of agreement and understanding as to what human trafficking encompasses. If there is uncertainty or confusion about the definition, it is difficult to collect accurate data or data that can be used across a jurisdiction.

> You know we have some agencies, who say "Oh I'm working with seventy-five trafficking victims", and there's working with prostitutes and women who are not necessarily what we would define as trafficking victims. So, we are in the process of all of that. (CEO, Victim Services, South)

Another issue raised by providers was the lack of resources or low prioritization to properly collect data on trafficking and enter it into a database. For a lot of providers, particularly those just starting out, ensuring good and appropriate service delivery was of utmost priority and they did not take into account that data collection could help create funding stability in the long term.

> That's why I definitely wanted to share this with you because I was like that is kind of alarming to me, [service provider] only have three or four staff members who are all case managers, who don't have like an administrative assistant or intern that can literally sit there and enter data and I feel like that's been our read on the community as we worked with our coalition partners and just other entities that come into contact with us. They're typically really grassroots, they're starting out, they're really focused on the service, and even though they're focused on the service they're not thinking necessarily about how to collect that data and how to prove it to funders. And I think that is unfortunate weakness of many of the organizations that we work with. They're doing some phenomenal work but they're not having that foresight. (Educator, Outreach Services, West)

It is important to note that there were agencies within each of the three study sites that either did not collect information on their clients in any systematic way or did not have mechanisms within their case management systems to indicate human trafficking victimization. For example, one agency in the Western site that primary served undocumented immigrants did not ask clients for their name and kept no official records of client experiences and background, despite belief by the agency director that many clients experienced labor and sex trafficking. Medical providers in all three sites variously screened for human trafficking victimization but none of the medical data collection systems included fields where a provider could indicate human trafficking, outside of the potential to include such information in narrative text. This may change in 2019 as the Center for Disease Control and Prevention recently released ICD-10-CM codes for classifying human trafficking abuse. The rollout of the new ICD-10-CM codes include web-based resources for coding professionals including training materials about human trafficking, lists of red flags for human trafficking and resources providers can utilize to assist human trafficking victims (American Hospital Association, nd).

How and what information is shared between agencies: The majority of non-governmental and non-law enforcement governmental agencies that participated in this study collected a wealth of data on their clients. This data often included demographic information, past and current victimization histories, trafficking experiences, and client needs. Given the great deal of information that these agencies collect on their clients, there should be many benefits to them sharing their data with one another. That said, information sharing amongst

non-governmental agencies is often challenging due to a number of different factors. These factors range from a lack of systematic data collection (as discussed above) to distrust amongst the organizations. The most commonly cited issue was confidentiality.

> Another thing is that with the domestic violence shelters, they are very locked down, for obvious reasons, to keep their information very confidential, to make sure that no man or abuser could ever get the women's name to know she's there or was there. But it does create an issue because when we're trying to get them on the list for housing, the domestic violence shelters which where all the women are, won't give that information out and so I have to go around and ask every single domestic violence shelter to write a letter stating when they were there…I have done that with one of the girls, because we had to prove that she is chronically homeless (Director, Victim Services, West)

Another issue that was discussed with regards to information sharing was the level of staff turnover and the training required to onboard new staff. It takes time to form partnerships and trust one another with sensitive and confidential information.

> You know I think the probably the greatest barrier is training and turnover. You know I think you get your team and we're familiar with each other, we know the way things work and then staff changes, right. And so continuing to teach and train and get people on board with how our system works here I think is huge. (Director, Child Welfare Agency, West)

There did appear to be more cooperation between non-law enforcement governmental agencies, but that is typically because they were more likely to sign MOUs. In some jurisdictions where there were established multi-disciplinary teams involving government and non-governmental agencies, the non-governmental organizations were more likely to share confidential data with the team.

> I think one of the things, comparatively, if you look at MDT's and say like how much information is going to be shared. A lot of times it's limited to those folks that don't have the confidentiality barriers non-profits do. But, I would say comparatively with other collaboratives I have seen, we actually share a lot. We have way more releases from victims, from the [NGO], or the [NGO] than I have seen in other places. I don't know how it looks everywhere. I feel like we do a pretty good job of getting to share. (Director, Victim Services, South)

How non-law enforcement agencies report information out to stakeholders or the public: Non-governmental and non-law enforcement governmental agencies viewed information sharing with stakeholders and the public differently. Non-law enforcement governmental agencies would report their data to whatever government agency body they were mandated to report to but didn't necessarily feel the need to share their data with other stakeholders or the public unless they thought it would benefit the victim in some way (e.g. service referrals, investigations, etc.). However, non-governmental organizations tended to be a lot more conflicted about whether to report their data to others. Some organizations would report their data at the trafficking taskforce or working group meetings, and in some cases were the only ones to share their information.

> So basically, I would take my report from TIMS and how many victims, and quarterly, and whenever we have a meeting I would dispense that, and it has always happened that, we are the only agency that would share our data. (Director, Victim Services, West)

Other NGOs would focus solely on reporting to their donors and staff but didn't make their data public.

> Well one just to track for our own selves, you know how are things going, how many calls are we getting, are they coming from our different outreach avenues, and then also [report] to our donors. We send a monthly update to our volunteers and donors. (Director, Victim Services, West)

The biggest concern cited by NGOs as to why they are not comfortable sharing their data with other stakeholders and the public was tied to funding. Both the public and other stakeholders often measure success by the number of victims you serve, not necessarily the outcomes of those victims. Since a lot of the NGOs working on this issue are small, they don't serve a large number of clients, which they fear gives the wrong impression about the success of their work.

> I mean what I've heard from other NGOs and it's just that there is an expectation, particularly when you're going to donors and funders, you better be helping thousands and thousands of victims. But what you're saying, you opened up or started in 2003 serving victims and you've only served 400 to date, and people are going to be like you aren't doing your job. Why would I give my money to you? This is what I've heard from other NGOs -- I don't want to have to use the number of people I serve as the benchmark for whether or not I'm succeeding at my job just because honestly it is very complicated to say I serve this population. (Educator, Outreach Services, West)

Despite the hesitancy to share or report their data to others, there was a sentiment amongst some stakeholders that if NGOs trusted one another more, a lot of positive things could come from it, including a comprehensive referral system.

> I think it is part of a dream of ours to have some kind of database that we share this information so that the service mapping project can lead into really a referral system, that can be used for that process, and documentation of clients, and service units, and long-term, short-term, referrals, you know beyond like a referral here and tracing where victims go so, all that information I think is part of the dream that we can collect and have different things show up to different people. (Educator, Outreach Services, West)

Although it seems unlikely that agencies within the study sites could utilize integrated data systems to share data across providers. There was strong interest in developing system that would facilitate the sharing of information to determine which agencies within a community were serving various identified human trafficking victims.

Multiple System Estimation Findings

Recognizing the challenges of law enforcement identification and reporting of human trafficking crimes, the research team sought to identify the degree to which data reported by the police underestimates the number of human trafficking victims in a community. To facilitate this analysis the team utilized various mark-recapture estimation strategies and Multiple Systems

Estimation (MSE) procedures in the Northeastern and Western site studies. These procedures allow us to estimate the size of a victim population based on the likelihood that a person would appear in more than one list of victims. The lists in these two communities were generated from law enforcement records and victim service provider records between 2013-2016. The purpose of the estimation exercise was to determine if MSE is feasible in the types of de-centralized data systems that would be found in many U.S. communities. Below we report findings and discuss some general conclusions about MSE methodologies.

Northeastern Site: The data from the Northeastern site includes lists that contain only information about minor sex trafficking victims. The study team was not granted access to data on adult foreign national sex and labor or US citizen sex trafficking victims due to confidentiality concerns among the non-law enforcement agencies studied. As a result, the study for the Northeastern site is only of the minor sex trafficking population.

There was a total of nine lists attached to the Northeastern site study region. One list came from law enforcement, seven lists from referral sources provided from a victim service provider, and one list from another victim service provider. The names of the lists are denoted as "LE", "Community 1", "Community 2", "Community 3", "Community 4", "Community 5", "Community 6", "Community 7", and "Community 8". The following table gives the size of the lists.

Table 6: Northeastern Site Mark-Recapture List

List	LE	Community 1	Community 2	Community 3	Community 4	Community 5	Community 6	Community 7	Community 8
Size	40	15	13	51	158	34	19	7	17

Overlap amongst the lists ranged from zero entries to 15 entries. The Community 7 and Community 8 lists had no overlap with other lists and were therefore merged with the Community 5 and Community 2 lists, respectively.

Of the 290 individuals captured for the study; 241 individuals were captured once, 37 were captured twice, 10 were captured three times, 1 was captured four times, and 1 was captured five times. Appendix C provides the capture histories and corresponding frequency counts of all individuals captured in the Northeastern site analysis.

Two classes of inference were conducted. The first is based entirely on the capture histories. The second is based on both the capture histories and covariate information; the covariates utilized in this analysis were gender (male, female, transgendered), race (African American, Asian, Caucasian, Hispanic/Latino, and Other), and the type of exploitation status as recorded in the law enforcement data set (sexual and other). For the first analysis, a range of inferential strategies were explored. The analysis commenced with enumerating all estimates based on pairings of the lists; see Chapman (1951) for details on this estimator. The large disagreement between the estimates highlighted the heterogeneity in the capture mechanism that gives rise to each list's set of captures, and hence more sophisticated mark-recapture models were sought out.

The mark-recapture models explored in this analysis allowed for varying capture effects over the lists and individuals, namely the presence of a list effect (so that an individual's capture in one list is different from a capture in another list) and/or a heterogeneity effect (so that one individual's capture on a list is different from another individual's capture for the same list). The

estimates/models explored were 1) maximum likelihood estimates based directly on the likelihood corresponding with the model parameters and capture histories (Williams et al., 2002), 2) loglinear mark-recapture model estimates based on fitting the mark-recapture models through a Poisson regression model (Rivest and Levesque, 2001), 3) Bayes estimates based on a computationally efficient semi-complete data likelihood approach (King et al., 2016; McClintock, 2017), and 4) sample coverage estimates, which are based on measures of overlap and dependence between sample capture probabilities and the assumption of low sample coverage (Chao and Tsay, 1998; Chao, 2001).

Model-fitting and goodness-of-fit criteria were used to choose suitable mark-recapture models. In all cases it was found that the model that simultaneously allows for list and heterogeneity effects was best suited to model the capture history data. Further, there was some general agreement amongst the resulting estimates based on each of the four classes of estimators in that they were all within close proximity of each other. Based on an in-depth review of the properties of the estimators, the suggested estimate to report for this analysis is based on the list and heterogeneity effects mark-recapture model and Chao lower bound estimator that results from applying a bias-correction procedure (Rivest and Levesque, 2001); ***the population size estimate of minor sex trafficking victims in the Northeastern site is 836, with a standard error of 116 and confidence interval based on the central limit theorem of (609, 1063).***

For the second analysis, two strategies were applied to the full data set (i.e. capture histories and observed covariates), namely 1) the standardized MSE approach as presented in Cruyff et al. (2017), and 2) a multiple imputation-based approach that repeatedly imputes missing covariate observations to generate a series of "full" data sets, and then applies a mark-recapture model with both list and heterogeneity effects and accounts for the hypothetical full realization of covariate observations to arrive at the Huggin's estimator for the population size (Huggins, 1989).

For the first strategy, a Poisson regression model was applied to the capture histories that allows for all levels of interaction, up to three-ways, within and across all lists and covariates. The resulting model based on these terms was chosen via goodness-of-fit criteria. The model showed that the parameters corresponding with the list, age, and gender covariates were all significant, and hence capture probabilities should be viewed as a function of these covariates. For the second strategy, the imputation model was based on the observed capture histories and covariate information. The regression model recognizes all classes of covariate information (i.e. gender by race by type of exploitation). It was found that both strategies give rise to the same estimate of the population size at 657. ***Based on the recently accepted MSE approach to estimating population size of human trafficking populations, the alternative, and recommended population size estimate of minor sex trafficking victims in the Northeastern site is 657, with a standard error of 66 and confidence interval based on a bootstrap resampling routine of (549, 806).***

Western Site: The data from the Western site includes lists that contain information about both sex and labor trafficking victims. Although the study team was not granted access to data from all agencies in the Western site who serve human trafficking victims due to confidentiality concerns, this analysis includes a cross section of four agencies that serve adult and minor sex and labor trafficking victims in addition to the data from local law enforcement.

There was a total of five lists attached to the Western site study region. One list came from law enforcement and four lists from separate victim service providers. The names of the

lists are denoted as “LE”, “Community 1”, “Community 2”, “Community 3”, and “Community 4.” The following table gives the size of the lists.

Table 7: Western Site Mark-Recapture List

List	LE	Community 1	Community 2	Community 3	Community 4
Size	64	98	126	52	30

Overlap amongst the lists ranged from zero to seven entries. The capture histories and corresponding frequency counts of the 345 individuals captured for the study can be found in Appendix C; 322 individuals were captured once, 21 were captured twice and 2 were captured three times.

Similar to the Northeastern site study, two classes of inference were conducted. The first is based entirely on the capture histories. The second is based on both the capture histories and covariate information; the covariates utilized in this analysis were gender (male, female), race (African American, Asian, Caucasian, Hispanic/Latino, and Other), and age (adult and minor).

For the first analysis, we also commenced with enumerating all estimates based on pairings of the lists. It was also found that there was a large disagreement between the estimates and hence that more sophisticated mark-recapture models were needed; the models and goodness-of-fit criteria used for the Northeastern site analysis were also applied to this analysis.

In all cases it was also found that the model that simultaneously allows for list and heterogeneity effects was best suited to model the capture history data. Also, there was some general agreement amongst the resulting estimates based on each of the four classes of estimators in that they were all within close proximity of each other. The suggested estimate to report for this analysis is based on the list and heterogeneity effects mark-recapture model and Chao lower bound estimator, where the model also allows for list interaction effects, as this is the most sophisticated model that can be applied to the capture history-based data set (Rivest and Levesque, 2001); ***the population size estimate for sex and labor trafficking victims in the Western site for the first analysis is 2650, with a standard error of 625 and confidence interval based on the profile likelihood of (1739, 4390).***

For the second analysis, the two strategies based on covariate information that were applied to the Northeastern site study were also applied in this analysis. The resulting MSE model showed that the parameters corresponding with the list, age, gender, and race covariates were all significant in the model, and hence capture probabilities should be viewed as a function of these covariates.

It was found that the MSE and multiple imputation-based strategies respectively gave rise to estimates for the population size of 2235 and 2738. ***Based on the recently accepted MSE approach to estimating population size of human trafficking populations, this is the suggested estimate to report for this analysis; the population size estimate for the second analysis of sex and labor trafficking victims in the Western site is 2235, with a standard error of 517 and confidence interval based on a bootstrap resampling routine of (1606, 3609).***

Conclusion

A number of challenges continue to exist around accurately capturing and reporting the number of human trafficking cases occurring in the United States. The human trafficking

offenses that are reported by the UCR Program significantly undercount potential sex and labor trafficking offenses in a community. The disconnect between human trafficking incidents and offense reporting occurs at multiple points including lack of identification, failure to classify internally, and disconnect between investigations and crime reporting programs.

While there have been some advances made in this area, one significant problem is the failure of law enforcement to identify human trafficking offenses among the incidents they investigate, even in agencies with specially trained personnel and specialized investigative units. Many law enforcement personnel struggle with the complexity of human trafficking cases and identifying human trafficking at the intersection of victimization and prostitution as a criminal offense. The majority of local and state law enforcement agencies also struggle with how to identify and investigate labor trafficking. Even specialized investigators expressed hesitation in using the human trafficking offense code, holding human trafficking offenses to a high standard, usually requiring the arrests of a perpetrator who will be charged by the District Attorney with a human trafficking crime.

Another significant hurdle that exists around the accurate reporting of human trafficking cases is the difficulties of entering human trafficking offenses into law enforcement reporting systems. Even when specialized investigators identify human trafficking victimization and pursue investigations of human trafficking offenses, these incidents are still mainly recorded as different offense types within internal records management systems, sometimes because offense codes for human trafficking do not exist in records management systems or on incident reports or are unknown by most officers. In addition, there can be disconnects between investigative recordkeeping and crime reporting programs within police agencies. For those few incidents that get classified as human trafficking offenses, some do not end up being reported to state crime reporting programs due to the failure or delay of state crime reporting programs to create classifications or reporting structures for human trafficking offenses.

Similar challenges exist with non-law enforcement agencies that interact with human trafficking victims. Provider agencies in the sites studied also struggle to identify human trafficking with the victims of crime they serve. Many providers do not have standardized assessment protocols for victim identification, and the majority do not assess for labor trafficking at all. For those that did identify human trafficking victims, record keeping related to victimization and other relevant information proved difficult for providers due to data systems that didn't support human trafficking as a victimization, so they would enter it under another victimization or unofficially keep track in a makeshift spreadsheet.

Given the issues around identification and reporting of human trafficking, it is understandable that the UCR Program undercounts both human trafficking offenses that exist in local communities and human trafficking offenses that are identified by local law enforcement. While law enforcement and provider agencies expressed that some progress has been made in cross-jurisdictional communication, there continues to be hesitancy and distrust in sharing information and confusion as to the most appropriate information to share among partners.

Law enforcement data captures only a fraction of the estimated human trafficking victimization in local communities. Findings from the MSE in the Northeastern and Western study sites indicate for the Northeastern site study, a total of 290 individuals were captured, and the resulting estimates typically range from 650 to 1000. This would imply that 29% to 45% of the estimated minor sex trafficking victimization is captured within the lists used for this analysis. For the Western site study, a total of 345 individuals were captured, and the resulting

estimates typically range from 2000 to 2400. This would imply that 14% to 18% of the total estimated human trafficking population is captured within the lists used for this analysis.

Recommendations

Human trafficking is a complex crime and the need for accurate identification and reporting is paramount to be able to address this crime and support law enforcement, providers, and victims. Recommendations generated from the results of this research project are intended to improve identification and reporting.

Local law enforcement agencies recommendations

- Despite a push on national, state and local levels to train law enforcement on how to identify human trafficking cases, continued training is imperative, especially with patrol officers who are often in the position to first identify a potential trafficking case. Training on how to identify possible labor trafficking cases should be part of all law enforcement trafficking training and including state Department of Labor officials in those trainings could assist with shedding light on the labor exploitation and trafficking spectrum.
- Law enforcement oftentimes rely on victim testimony to identify and build a trafficking case. Relying on victims to provide a statement to build a strong case can be fraught with issues and resource intensive. Law enforcement should work with prosecutors to identify other types of evidence, such as bank records, signed documents, Internet ads, so that they are not reliant on victim testimony to classify offenses as human trafficking.
- It is a fairly common practice for law enforcement to arrest individuals on prostitution or prostitution related charges, including pimping and pandering, without screening these individuals for trafficking. Local service providers and non-law enforcement local government agencies should work with local enforcement to create a short screening tool to be administered to individuals prior to being charged and booked in order to avoid placing any trafficking victims in the criminal justice system.
- Local law enforcement should integrate human trafficking offense codes into their records management and crime reporting programs. Offense codes should be used throughout the jurisdiction, if not the state. Training for patrol officers, specialized investigators and crime reporting program personnel about human trafficking offenses and their classification should accompany this rollout of new offense codes. This will allow for better identification, information gathering and would lead to a more accurate trafficking prevalence estimate.

Non-law enforcement local agencies recommendations

- Non-law enforcement agencies who interact with victims of crime should receive regular training and ongoing supervision around identifying human trafficking victims. Training and supervision should also focus on labor trafficking identification.
- Continued efforts should be made to develop, validate, and implement standardized assessment tools for non-law enforcement agencies to use to identify victims of human trafficking. The utilization of a standardized assessment tool would help in improving accurate data collection across agencies and jurisdictions.

- The development, implementation, and utilization of a uniform database to be used across agencies would be beneficial in collecting accurate data about human trafficking and other victimizations. The database should not be cost prohibitive to ensure all agencies can utilize the database regardless of their financial capacity.
- To further enhance collaboration and streamlining service provision, it would be advantageous to develop tools and resources to help agencies facilitate appropriate information sharing. While confidentiality is a necessary restraint to what information is shared, creating tools that would assist agencies in deepening their communication about the victims they are serving would allow them to better serve their clients and access resources.

Recommendations for improving human trafficking population estimation

- Under the MSE estimation procedure, the coefficient estimates show that the gender and race covariates strongly influence the capture mechanisms, in addition to the age covariate for the Western site study. This suggests that future data collection strategies should place an emphasis on recording information about victim race, gender and age that can be utilized to improve the tracking of victims across multiple providers in a community.
- As most captures in a study such as this are based on self-selection into lists, this can generate some bias in the estimates since there may be some heterogeneity in the captures that cannot be accounted for through covariate information. It is therefore suggested that rigorous studies that avoid such methods of capture be administered to this population, as this will validate the estimates and/or augment the lists for further population size estimation.
- It is critical for researchers to disseminate the methodology and results of MSE like studies in formal outlets where they can be reviewed by peers. As MSE approaches are being refined, dissemination and discussion among scholars and practitioners about the approaches is critical to arrive as standardized and accepted human trafficking population estimation procedures.

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Appendix A: Sex and Labor Trafficking Indicators for Review of Incidents Not Classified as Human Trafficking Offenses

Indicator	Description/Examples
Commercial sex	Indication in narrative that offense/acts include commercial sex
Labor	Indication in narrative that offense/acts include forms of labor
Minor victim	Any victim under the age of 18 in situations of a commercial sex act.
Evidence of a facilitator or pimp	Description of a third-party facilitator or pimp in the narrative. Indicator of other suspects where there is indication of facilitation of commercial sex.
Physical force or threats of physical force	Any form of physical violence (e.g. hitting, pushing, burning, kicking, sexual violence), threats of violence, brandishing weapons, talking about the use of violence.
Debilitating	Denial of food, water, sleep, use of drugs/alcohol.
Disorienting	Denial of communication, lack of information about location, lack of travel documents.
Abuse of authority or law	Threats to call police/immigration officials/probation officer, threats to revoke immigration status/visa.
Fraud or deception	Fraudulent contracts/promises, illegal or illegitimate offers of work or labor, inclusion of provisions in contracts or promises that lead individual to believe they owe money/time/debt.

Appendix B: Human Trafficking Offenses Known to Law Enforcement (2013-2016)

State	2013		2014		2015		2016	
	Com. sex acts	Involuntary servitude	Com. sex acts	Involuntary servitude	Com. sex acts	Involuntary servitude	Com. sex acts	Involuntary servitude
Alabama	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alaska	-	-	1	0	10	0	11	1
Arizona	-	-	15	0	5	1	19	0
Arkansas	-	-	-	-	5	0	4	2
California	-	-	0	0	-	-	-	-
Colorado	-	-	11	2	11	6	12	22
Connecticut	-	-	-	-	0	0	1	1
Delaware	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0
Florida	-	-	57	3	44	2	98	7
Georgia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hawaii	-	-	0	0	3	0	2	0
Idaho	-	-	0	0	0	0	-	-
Illinois	-	-	50	0	53	8	21	3
Indiana	-	-	0	0	0	0	4	0
Iowa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kansas	-	-	1	0	0	0	0	0
Kentucky	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Louisiana	-	-	-	-	51	0	121	2
Maine	-	-	-	-	0	0	-	-
Maryland	-	-	-	-	27	1	17	0
Massachusetts	-	-	6	1	0	2	0	3
Michigan	-	-	2	1	3	0	1	2
Minnesota	-	-	22	5	119	0	235	0
Mississippi	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0
Missouri	6	0	5	1	13	0	16	0
Montana	-	-	1	0	0	0	1	0
Nebraska	-	-	-	-	0	0	-	-
Nevada	-	-	0	0	214	2	140	0
New Hampshire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New Jersey	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New York	-	-	-	-	0	0	-	-
North Carolina	-	-	-	-	0	0	-	-
North Dakota	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1
Ohio	0	1	0	0	3	0	1	0
Oklahoma	-	-	10	0	38	2	42	4
Oregon	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pennsylvania	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rhode Island	-	-	-	-	0	0	5	1
South Carolina	-	-	-	-	10	4	15	7
South Dakota	-	-	-	-	0	0	0	0
Tennessee	4	0	29	1	32	3	55	0
Texas	-	-	78	113	98	187	130	127
Utah	-	-	0	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vermont	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0
Washington	3	0	2	0	1	0	13	1
West Virginia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wisconsin	-	-	-	-	4	0	34	1
Wyoming	-	-	0	1	0	1	3	2

Note: *Federal Bureau of Investigation, Crime in the US, Human Trafficking 2013, 2014, 2015 and 2016*. This data includes only law enforcement agencies submitting one or more human trafficking incidents for at least 1 month of a calendar year.

Appendix C: Individuals Captured in the Marked-Recapture Analysis for the Study Sites

Northeastern Site

LE	Community 1	Community 3	Community 4	Community 6	Communities 5 and 7	Communities 2 and 8	Frequency
1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1
1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
1	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	10
1	0	0	0	0	1	0	5
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	17
0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	2
0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
0	1	0	0	0	0	0	8
0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1
0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
0	0	1	1	0	0	0	6
0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	37
0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
0	0	0	1	0	1	0	6
0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
0	0	0	1	0	0	0	122
0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
0	0	0	0	1	0	0	12
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	21
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	24

Western Site

LE	Community 1	Community 2	Community 3	Community 4
1	0	1	0	1
1	0	1	0	0
1	0	0	1	0
1	0	0	0	1
1	0	0	0	0
0	1	1	1	0
0	1	1	0	0
0	1	0	1	0
0	1	0	0	0
0	0	1	0	0
0	0	0	1	1
0	0	0	1	0
0	0	0	0	1